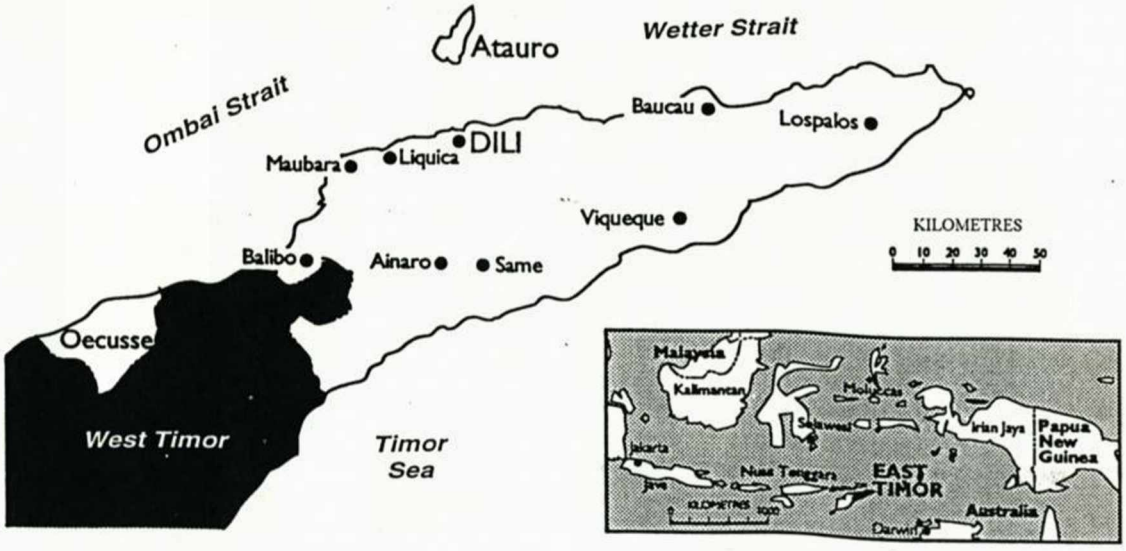
TL 1207

COMISSÃO PARA OS DIREITOS DO POVO MAUBERE

EAST TIMOR KIT



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OCTOBER 1993

Timor's Untelevised Terror
As the World Looks Elsewhere, A Small Island Suffers a Hideous War

The Washington Post Outlook (Commentary) Section
Sunday, March 14, 1993 Page 2
By Sven Bergman

DILI, EAST TIMOR - "Can you take this to the outside world?"

A nervous Catholic priest held a bunch of papers in his hands, lists with names of peo- ple in his parish who had disappeared or were imprisoned, tortured or killed in recent months in East Timor.

East Timor is half of an island in the Indonesian archipelago 400 miles north of Australia. In the last 17 years, as many as 200,000 people - a third of East Timor's population - have been killed by the occupying forces of the Indonesian government. Yet unlike the suffering and cruelty in, say, the former Yugoslavia, the victims and survivors here have only just begun to capture the attention of the world.

In November 1991, a British TV crew was on hand when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on thousands of young people participating in a huge pro-independence funeral march at the Santa Cruz cemetery here. The videotape of the massacre, which showed people being shot down, shocked western politicians - candidate Bill Clinton among them - into criticizing Indonesia's human rights abuses.

Nevertheless, East Timor remains tightly controlled. We did not dare to accept the priest's papers. Outside of the building where we were talking, agents of the ever-present Indonesian military secret service were waiting for us. Foreign journalists, delega- tions and organizations are allowed into East Timor only on a very selective basis, and tourists are tightly motored. The agents decided it was time for us to leave.

East Timor's terror began in late 1975 after Portugal withdrew from its colonial empire. The people of East Timor, ruled since the 12th century, were not inclined to join Indonesia, as West Timor, a former Dutch colony, had done in the 1940s. Four hundred years of Portuguese rule had created a distinct language, Tetum, and a distinct cultural identity. In the fall of 1975, a leftist group, the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (FRETILIN), won a brief civil war and began setting up a national government.

The military government of Indonesia, presiding over an island nation with hundreds of ethnic groups and languages, worried about the destabilizing influence of an independent country on its periphery. But East Timor's claim to self-determination had been recognized in United Nations resolutions. The Indonesians were also worried about maintaining good relations with the rest of the world, especially the United States. They needn't have worried. In December 1975, President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger paid a state visit to Jakarta, the Indonesian capital. It is widely thought that Kissinger and Ford told the Indonesian generals that the United States would not object to the annexation of East Timor. The next day, Dec. 7, 1975, the Indonesian forces, armed mainly with American weapons, invaded East Timor.

The lightly armed FRETILIN forces offered strong resistance for three years in the island's mountainous interior. The Indonesian army pursued them, destroying villages, massacring inhabitants and relocating refugees in strategic villages. The Indonesians also destroyed crops, creating famine. By late 1979, the International Red Cross and Catholic Relief Services were comparing the famine in Timor to the deliberate starvation of the citizens of Biafra in the late 1960s. Protests from U.S. congressmen helped force Indonesia to allow foreign humanitarian aid into the besieged areas. But world attention remained sporadic.

This history is invisible when you first arrive in Dili, the capital of East Timor. The city is small and calm. With its distinctive colonial-era architecture, it could be a port city in Portugal. Save for the pervasive presence of Indonesian soldiers, it seems at first glance like a normal place.

When we drove out to the countryside, the face of Indonesian occupation became apparent at the first military checkpoint. Our hired driver, Jose, got out to show his papers to the military police. A large Balinese soldier leaned over him, studying the silver ring on Jose's hand with an indifferent look. Then the soldier reached down, slowly removed the ring and put it on his own finger. Jose said nothing. When we realized what had happened, we wanted to go back and retrieve the ring. Jose stopped us. He just wanted to leave. Fear had forced him to swallow the humiliation.

We drove west through the dry barren countryside, passing through resettlement villages built by the government to accommodate internal refugees dislocated from their homes by massive military sweeps. The villages, strategically placed along main roads for easy control of the population, consisted of small, square cement-and-bamboo houses in straight lines. There were red and white Indonesian flags everywhere and Indonesian soldiers with U.S.-made M-16 rifles slung over their shoulders. Morning and night, military trucks carried camouflaged soldiers in and out of the towns. Military helicopters swept overhead An unofficial curfew left the streets quiet and empty after nine in the evening. That same evening we arrived in an isolated village. About 30 Timorese gathered around us in the dark.

"Once this was a village full of life. Now there are only us left," said an older man pointing toward the quiet, staring band of villagers." All the others are dead.

They wanted to help us, but we had to drive on - nobody dared to put us up. The next morning our military babysitters questioned us about where we had been and took our pictures. After we made a brief visit to a Catholic elementary school, the secret policemen even talked to the nun and her young pupils. The secret police's suspicions left us ill-at-ease, worrying about the safety of the innocent people who had talked to us.

Until recently, the West's concern about East Timor has been overshadowed by its economic ties with the Indonesian government. "On one side there is a small people of 600,000," one priest explained, "and on the other side a nation with rich natural resources and 185 million people.

The Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991 did prompt some second thoughts. The Indonesian government initially put the death toll at 19. When the British videotape, which had been smuggled out of the country, indicated far more casualties, the estimate was upped to 50. Sources in the Timorese resistance put the death toll at 273. Amnesty International estimates that at least 100 and possibly as many 250 people were killed. Human rights organizations have also collected eyewitness testimony that Indonesian soldiers invaded local hospitals after the massacre and dragged away the wounded.

The European Parliament and the U.S. Congress quickly condemned Indonesia. Last October, Congress cut $2.3 million dollars in military aid to Indonesia - the first time in 17 years that Congress has reduced such aid over the issue of East Timor. On the campaign trail, candidate Clinton told a New York radio reporter that East Timor had been ignored in an "unconscionable" manner.

To date, Indonesia has retained strong international financial backing. The Consultative Group on Indonesia, a World Bank consortium of donor countries, decided in July to give Indonesia $5 billion in aid, credits and loans in 1992-93. But there are signs that the administration is following through on Clinton's campaign statements. Last week, the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva approved a strong resolution on East Timor that won unprecedented support from the United States.

The U.N. action couldn't be more timely. Last November, the military arrested Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the Timorese resistance, and charged him with rebellion, conspiracy and leading a separatist movement. As many as 20 relatives and friends were arrested with him; hundreds of people have been detained in recent months for periods ranging from a few hours to a few months, according to Amnesty international. Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo said last month that the arrested were being subject to "all types of torture."

Gusmao is now on trial in Dili. The Portuguese government, citing various U.N. resolutions rejecting Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, says that Jakarta "lacks the legal, political and moral authority" to put Gusmao on trial. With the exception of a one hour visit with a representatives of the International Red Cross, Gusmao has not been allowed to meet with any independent observers since his arrest. He

has been shown on TV, however, urging his followers to surrender, a statement that many believe was coerced. Indonesian authorities have selectively admitted international observers into the courtroom and insist that Gusmao's trial is open and impartial.

The leaders of the Indonesian government remain intransigent. After the Santa Cruz massacre, Gen. Try Sutrisno, the commander of the Indonesian Armed Forces, said that the Timorese who resist integration into the Indonesian state are "delinquent people [who] have to be shot, and we will shoot them." Last week, President Suharto, who has ruled Indonesia for the last 27 years, selected Sutrisno as his vice president and likely successor.

When we finally boarded the boat to leave East Timor, we were visited by two high-ranking intelligence officers. In a last awkward effort to influence our impressions, one of them apologized for our being followed, interrogated, photographed, videotaped and our baggage thoroughly searched.

"There are good and bad tourists," he explained. "Sometimes the bad tourists try to smuggle out letters from East Timor, letters which later are given to the U.N. ..."

Sven Bergman, a TV journalist in Sweden, visited East Timor late last year.

The article was accompanied by a cartoon showing a globe turned on its side, with a blindfolded man, hidden under the base of the globe, being shot by a soldier.

This information is provided by the United Nations Information Centre in Sydney for Australia, New Zealand and the South Pacific.

Distr. GENERAL

A/48/418 20 September 1993

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

Forty-eighth session Item 121 of the provisional agenda*

QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR

Progress report of the Secretary-General

1. In my progress report to the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly on the question of East Timor (A/47/435), I apprised the Assembly of the efforts in progress at the time to reactivate the dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal under my auspices aimed at finding a comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor, which had been interrupted since the autumn of 1991. In particular, I informed the Assembly of my decision to invite the Foreign Ministers of the two countries to hold informal consultations, without preconditions, with the object of arriving at a mutually acceptable format for resuming substantive discussions on the matter.

2. The informal talks, held on 26 September 1992 in New York, resulted in an agreement to hold substantive discussions at the level of Foreign Ministers as well as preparatory meetings between the Permanent Representatives of the two sides in New York, to be led by the Secretary-General and his designated representative, respectively. It was also understood that the Secretary-General would consult anyone he deemed appropriate in the context of the dialogue.

3. Since then, I have held three rounds of substantive discussions with the two Foreign Ministers, in New York on 17 December 1992, in Rome on 21 April 1993 and in New York on 17 September 1993. My Senior Political Adviser, Mr. Alvaro de Soto, has convened a number of meetings of the Permanent Representatives of the two countries to the United Nations. He and other officials of the United Nations have also had contacts with representatives of various East Timorese groups and prominent individuals.

4. All sides concerned realize the need to make progress on confidence- building measures that could help pave the way for a discussion of the core issues. I have explored various ideas in this respect with the two Foreign Ministers. While it has proved difficult to make progress on the core question, owing to the wide difference in the positions of the two sides, I am moderately encouraged by the substance and tone of the discussions held on 17 September 1993, as reflected in the statement issued by my spokesman following the meetings (SG/SM/5095). I am hopeful that, with patience and the continued cooperation of the parties, we will be able to build on these initial steps and that the process will bear further results. Continued dialogue is the rational way towards the achievement of a lasting settlement of the question of East Timor. I must underline, however, the need to redouble our efforts in this direction and for the parties to show greater flexibility in the interest of making progress.

5. Equally important and intrinsically linked to the peace process is the human rights situation in East Timor. The improvement of the conditions in East Timor is sine qua non to progress in the talks. It is in that spirit and in view of the continued concern of the international community in that respect that I have been closely following developments affecting the enjoyment of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the East Timorese people. In March 1993, the Commission on Human Rights adopted resolution 1993/97, in which it, inter alia, recalled that it had commended the decision of the Government of Indonesia to set up an inquiry commission on the killings of 12 November 1991, but regretted that the investigation had failed to identify clearly those responsible; expressed its concern about the lack of information concerning the number of people killed in that incident and urged the Government to account fully for those still missing; regretted the disparity in the severity of sentences imposed on civilians not indicted for violent activities and the military involved in the violent incident; called upon the Government to ensure that all East Timorese in custody, including main public figures, were treated humanely, with

their rights fully respected, and that all trials be fair, just and public, and recognize the right to proper legal representation, and that those not involved in violent activities were released without delay; welcomed the greater access recently granted by the Indonesian authorities to human rights and humanitarian organizations, and called for the further expansion of that access; and urged Indonesia to invite the Special Rapporteurs on torture and on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, and the Working Groups on Arbitrary Detention and on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances to visit East Timor and to facilitate the discharge of their mandates.

6. In August 1993, in its resolution 1993/12, the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, inter alia, noted with satisfaction the lifting of the restrictions imposed upon the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in East Timor, but expressed its deepest concern at reports of continuing violations of human rights there; and urged the Indonesian authorities to implement fully the decisions of the Commission on Human Rights, as well as to honour the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War regarding the prohibition on removing prisoners from their original place of residence.

7. Upon receiving the agreement of the Government of Indonesia to my earlier request, I dispatched Mr. Amos Wako, my Personal Envoy, on a visit to East Timor and Indonesia in April 1993, as a follow-up to his first visit of February 1992. Mr. Wako visited the area from 3 to 8 April 1993. In addition to the task of following up on the implementation of his recommendations arising from his first visit, I requested Mr. Wako to provide me with an assessment of the overall human rights situation in East Timor and, to that end, to meet with all persons he believed should be consulted, including persons in detention. Mr. Wako conducted his assignment to my full satisfaction and reported to me personally on his findings and recommendations on how the human rights situation in the territory could be improved. During his visit, he held extensive discussions with the Indonesian authorities, both at Jakarta and in East Timor, as well as with the Bishop of East Timor, non-governmental organizations and human rights activists, and East Timorese in detention (and released from detention) for their alleged or suspected pro-independence activities. These included individuals who had been in positions of leadership, notably Mr. Jose "Xanana" Gusmao, leader of the Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente (FRETILIN), who was captured by the Indonesian armed forces on 20 November 1992, as well as those convicted for organizing the demonstrations of November 1991. Mr. Wako was also received by President Suharto before ending his visit.

8. I have conveyed the conclusions and recommendations of my Personal Envoy to the Government of Indonesia, and the Government of Portugal has been apprised of the same. In a letter dated 7 August 1993, Mr. Ali Alatas, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, transmitted to me the reaction of his Government to the substance of Mr. Wako's conclusions and recommendations.

9. Since his arrest by the Indonesian authorities near Dili on 20 November 1992, I have been following the situation of Mr. "Xanana" Gusmao. In addition to the confidential meeting that my Personal Envoy had with him in April 1993, I have on a number of occasions raised with the Indonesian authorities the question of immediate access by ICRC to Mr. Gusmao and other detainees in East Timor. I have also received reports from human rights organizations on his treatment and conditions of detention, as well as communications from Governments, parliamentarians and other prominent personalities and numerous concerned individuals from different parts of the world conveying their concern about Mr. Gusmao's detention and fate.

10. Mr. Gusmao's trial began at Dili in February 1993. In May 1993, following the 21 April round of talks between Indonesia and Portugal under my auspices, and with the agreement of the Government of Indonesia, I decided to dispatch a member of the United Nations Secretariat to observe the concluding stages of Mr. Gusmao's trial. Despite a number of problems encountered, the United Nations observer was able to attend three of the five trial sessions held in Dili between 5 and 21 May 1993. On 21 May, the court sentenced Mr. Gusmao to life imprisonment, a decision that has since been reduced to a 20-year prison term by President Suharto. I will continue to follow the situation of Mr. Gusmao closely and to be in communication with the Government of Indonesia on the subject.

11. I will hold a new round of discussions with the two Foreign Ministers on 6 May 1994 at Geneva. Prior to that, preparatory meetings will be held by my designated representative with the two Permanent Representatives to the United Nations.

HOW YOU CAN HELP...

Creative initiatives that keep the issue of East Timor before the international community are essential.

These are few suggestions:

1) Join and become an active member of an East Timor group

2) Read more about East Timor. Subscribe to:

- ***Tapol*** **(in English)**
  (The Indonesian Human Rights Campaign)
  111 Northwood Road, Thornton Heath,
  Surrey CR7 8HW, United Kingdom
  Tel: 44.81. 7712904
  Fax: 44.81. 653 0332
  E-Mail: tapol@igc.apc.org

- ***Inside Indonesia*** **(in English)**
  Indonesia resources and Information Programme (IRIP)
  PO Box 190, Northcote, 3070
  Australia

- ***Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks*** **(in English)**
  East Timor action Network/ U.S.
  P.O. Box 1182, White Plains , NY 10602 USA
  Tel: 1.914.428.7299
  Fax: 1.914.428.7383
  E-mail: cscheiner@igc.apc.org

- ***Timor Clips*** **(in French)**
  Bulletin d'information édité par S.O.S Timor
  BP 39 - 1040
  Bruxelles 42
  Belgique

- *Informação Timor-Leste* (in Portuguese)
Comissão para os Direitos do Povo Maubere
Rua Pinheiro Chagas, 77 2ºE, 1000 Lisboa
Portugal
Tel: 351.1.352.8718
Fax: 351.1.353.4009
E-mail: cdpm@gn.apc.org

3) Write to your President/Prime-Minister/Foreign Affair Minister/Member of Parliament asking them:

- to halt all transfers/sales of military equipment to Indonesia (as well as the establishement of financial assistance programmes) while East Timor is occupied, based on the guidelines which state that such equipment should not be exported to countries where human rights are seriously violated;

- to stop all diplomatic support for Indonesia (at the United Nations Organization and other international fora);

- to urge the UN Secretary General to send an independent international team to Indonesia to investigate the Santa Cruz massacre (12 Nov 1991) and the allegations of ongoing human rights abuses in East Timor;

- to urge the UN Secretary General to promote a new effort to resolve the conflict in East Timor by initiating, under UN auspices, round-table talks between the Indonesian authorities, representatives of the East Timorese people and the Portuguese authorities.

4) Write to:

- the UN Secretary General urging him to demand a full, international Comission of Inquiry into the Santa Cruz massacre (12 Nov 1991) and the allegations of ongoing human rights abuses in East Timor, as well as to make pressure for solving the conflict by initiating the above mentioned round-table talks;

- your local and national media denouncing the situation in East Timor for the last 18 years;

- the Portuguese President and Prime Minister urging them not to stop acting for East Timorese self-determination;

- the Indonesian President and Foreign Affair Minister protesting against Indonesia´s brutal occupation of East Timor and calling for an immediate withdrawal to allow a genuine act of self-determination;

- the Pope, the U.S. President and Australian Prime-Minister protesting against Indonesia´s brutal occupation of East Timor and urging them to pressure the Indonesian authorities for an immediate withdrawal from East Timor and to allow a genuine act of self-determination under U.N. supervision.

5) Table a motion at your union, staff association or political party branch, calling for your government to demand the withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor.

6) Support the NGOs and Amnesty International campaigns regarding the human rights situation in East Timor.

...../...../.....

"We are fighting in the bush. Fighting physically. But you and those of you in free countries, throughout the world , we hope you stand up and give your words to support us , so all together we´ll fight for the victory and independence of our country"

excert of a letter from a Timorese guerrilla man

...../...../.....

EAST TIMORESE CONTACT LIST

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National Council of Maubere Resistance

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FRETILIN
Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente
Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor

AUSTRALIA

New South Wales Committee
PO Box 74, Bonnyrigg NSW 2176

Darwin Committee
☎ 61 89. 279 177
Contact: Alfredo FERREIRA, Member of the Executive Committee

ANGOLA
C.P. 2116
Luanda
Contact: Roque RODRIGUES, Member of the Executive Committee

MOZAMBIQUE
PO Box 1413
Maputo
Contact: Mari ALKATIRI, Member of the Executive Committee

UDT
União Democrática Timorense
Timorese Democratic Union

AUSTRALIA

Sydney Committee
PO Box 233
Liverpool NSW 2170
☎ 61 2. 823 5616 (Home) / 2. 217 3140 (Work)
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Contact: João CARRASCALÃO, Vice-President of UDT

Darwin Committee
PO Box 43 228
Casuarina, Darwin NT, Australia 0811
☎ 61.89. 276 032
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Contact: Flávia PIRES, President of the Regional Committee

PORTUGAL
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1137 Lisboa Codex
☎ 351.1. 937 7339
Contact: Zacarias da COSTA, President of the Portuguese Regional Committee

MACAU
Centro Comercial da Praia Grande
57 Rua da Praia Grande 7° andar
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☎ 853.376 117
☎ and Fax: 853.355 524 (Work)
Contact: Manuel TILMAN, President of the Macau Committee

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PO BOX 23, Fairfield NSW, Australia 2165
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☎and Fax: 61.3. 302 1896
Contact: José BARBOSA, Alfredo PIRES

ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH THE EAST TIMOR ISSUE

AUSTRALIA

EAST TIMOR PEACE TALKS CAMPAIGNS (NSW)
20 Oxford Street
Newtown 2042
☎ 61.2. 516 3169 / 2. 290 1166
Fax: 61.2. 290 3783
Contact: Liz GARDINER

AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID
124 Napier Street
Fitzroy 3065, Vic.
☎ 61.3. 417 7505
Fax: 61.3. 416 2746
Contact: Pat WALSH

AUSTRALIANS FOR A FREE EAST TIMOR
Box 2155, Darwin NT 0801
☎ and Fax: 61.89. 832 113
Contact: Robert WESLEY-SMITH

BELGIUM

SOS TIMOR
3 Av. Jules César
1150 Brussels
☎ 32.2. 299 0119 (E)
Contact: Maria Eugénia MONTEIRO

KWIA / FLEMISH SUPPORT GROUP FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES
Breghelstraat 3133, 2018 Antwerp
☎ 32.3. 218 8488
Fax: 32.3. 230 4540
Contact: Wendel TRID

BRAZIL

GRUPO DE SOLIDARIEDADE COM TIMOR-LESTE
Av. Marechal Teodoro nº126, 8º centro
80010/010 Curitiba - Paraná

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EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK

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Fax: 358.0. 147 297
Contact: Kalle SYSIKASKI

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☎ 49.551. 58 028
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ASIAN CENTER PROGRESS OF PEOPLES
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☎ 353.1. 623 3148
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ITALY

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☎ 39.6. 700 5994
Fax: 39.6. 700 5472

Comitato Ferrara per la Pace - CIES
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JAPAN

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☎ and Fax: 31.71. 221 065
Contact: Pedro Pinto LEITE

MOVEMENT OF INDONESIANS ABROAD FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY
Postbus 11206
2001 EE Leiden
Contact: Jusfiq HADJAR

Eyewitnesses Nov. 12 Massacre
Saskia KOUWENBERG and Russell ANDERSEN
Jacob van Lennepkade 44 HS
1053 ML Amsterdam
☎ 31.20. 689 2208
Fax: 31.20. 616 8967

NEW ZEALAND

NFIP PACIFIC CONCERNS RESSOURCE CENTER
P.O. Box 3148, Auckland Central Post
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Backalidsvagen 44,
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PHILIPPINES

INITIATIVES FOR INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE
2 Matulungin St., Central District, Quezon City 1101
44-38 University of the Philippines Shopping Center,
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THE TIMES WEDNESDAY AUGUST 18 1993

OCCUPIED EAST TIMOR

Indonesia must be made to rescind its illegal annexation

Indonesia marked 48 years of independence yesterday. For 18 of those it has robbed the people of East Timor of theirs. President Suharto, who has ruled, seldom gently, for over a quarter of a century, told a puppet parliament that he was "aware that frictions, conflicts or even controversies" existed, but that Indonesians "must develop the rules to solve these in a peaceful, ethical, fair and civilised manner". East Timor's reduction to a state of vassalage has been violent, unethical, unfair and uncivilised.

Indonesia is in illegal occupation of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony whose right to independence Portugal champions. Forcible annexation violates the UN Charter and customary international law. President Saddam Hussein was compelled to realise that, as was General Galtieri. But Jakarta has ignored, with complete impunity, several resolutions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and upholding the Timorese right to self-determination.

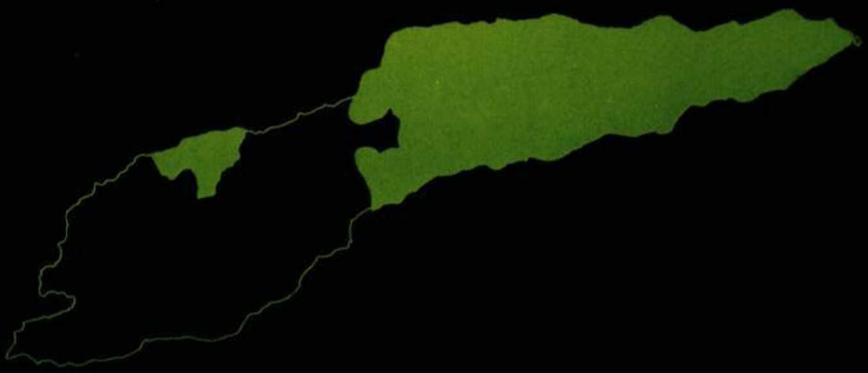
Seeking to mollify critics of Indonesia's human rights record, President Suharto has pared the sentence of Xanana Gusmão, the jailed Timorese resistance leader, from life to 20 years. This is an empty palliative. Mr Gusmão's imprisonment in May for "rebellion" and "conspiracy to set up a separate state" was objectionable in substance and procedure. Indonesia has no right to try him because it has no right to be on the territory to which he belongs. The illegality is so fundamental that it vitiates the trial *in toto*. That said, it seems almost banal to note the following: he did not have a counsel of his own choosing; no security was provided for defence witnesses; the governor of occupied East Timor banned officials from testifying and many of the prosecution witnesses were themselves in military custody. The trial was not open to the public; translation facilities were woeful; and, the crowning disgrace, Mr Gusmão's statement was excluded by the court as "irrelevant".

Indonesia treats occupied East Timor as *lebensraum*. Only Bahasa Indonesia is taught in schools, not Portuguese or the indigenous Tetum. A third of the population is immigrant, and the Timorese are facing cultural death by demography. Since the UN does not recognise Indonesia's writ, all such migration is illegal. There has, of course, been death of a more conventional cut: over 200,000 Timorese have died since Indonesia invaded in December 1975.

World reaction has been shamefully feeble. America has treated General Suharto with kid gloves. Indonesia, Britain's third largest arms customer, recently closed a deal worth £500 million for British Aerospace Hawks. Perhaps for these reasons, Douglas Hurd, when extending credit in April to Jakarta worth £65 million, said, egregiously, that it would not be a "sensible and fruitful thing" to link aid to human rights.

Washington has now woken up. President Clinton has blocked the resale of F5E jets by Jordan to Indonesia. But the EC has failed to swing its weight behind Portugal's diplomatic campaign. Britain should use its permanent seat on the UN Security Council to insist that Indonesia be subjected to sharp sanctions until it unconditionally vacates occupied East Timor. Port Stanley and Dili are on the same side of the same coin.

Have you heard about



EAST TIMOR?